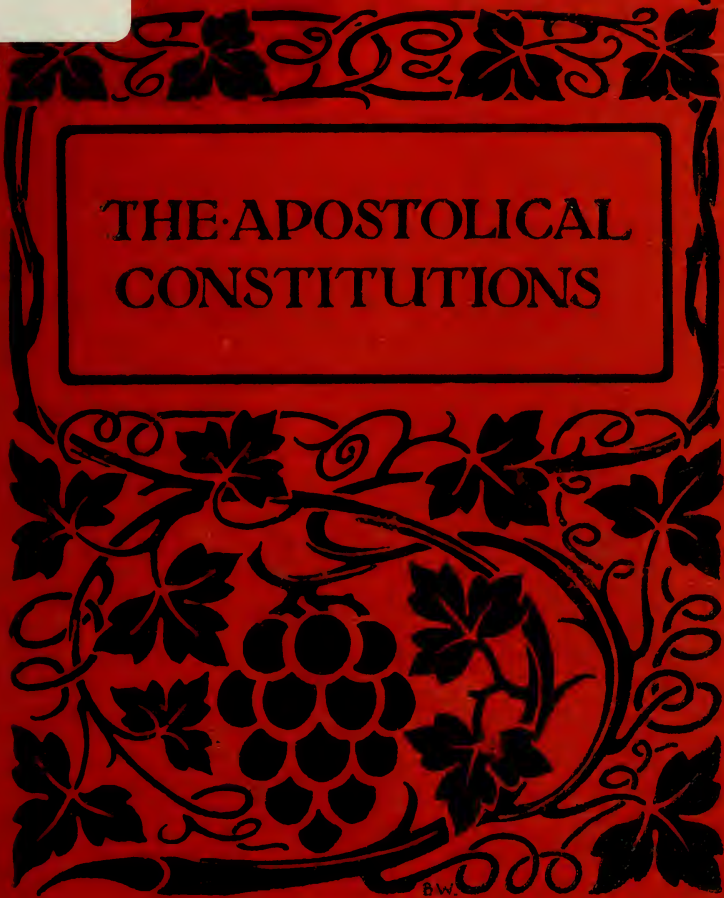# RLY·CHURCH
CLASSICS

THE·APOSTOLICAL
CONSTITUTIONS

B.W.

THE

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS

AND COGNATE DOCUMENTS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THEIR LITURGICAL ELEMENTS

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APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS
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BY

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THE

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE COGNATE DOCUMENTS RECENTLY MADE ACCESSIBLE

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE text of the Apostolical Constitutions was entirely unknown to the West throughout the Middle Ages. Its rediscovery, like that of so many monuments of early Christianity, took place in the sixteenth century. A copy was found in Crete, and its contents were made known in a Latin epitome published at Ingoldstadt in 1546, by Carolus Capellus. Seventeen years later this was followed by the full Greek text edited by the Jesuit Father Franciscus Turrianus, and simultaneously by a Latin translation by Bovius; both text and translation were published at Venice.

Existing
MSS. of the
Greek text.
The Greek text is known to us to-day in four MSS. The earliest of these, dated A.D. 1111, is preserved at S. Petersburg. (S. Pet. Greek MSS. 254.) The next in age is a Vienna MS. of the fourteenth century. (Vienna, Gk. Hist. MSS. 56.) The two remaining MSS. are both of the sixteenth century, and are preserved at Vienna and Paris. (Vienna, Gk. Hist. MSS. 57, and Paris, fonds Grec. 961.—Reg. 2874, e Colb. 4491.)

16th–18th
centuries'
criticism.
From the date of its rediscovery the work has been the subject of considerable controversy. It bears the name of Clement of Rome, and was regarded by Turrianus and Bovius as being his genuine work. This high esteem was surpassed by Whiston (*Primitive Christianity*. London, 1711), who expressed the opinion that it contained the substance of Our Lord's revelation during the forty days which intervened between His resurrection and ascension, and, consequently, was rather more important than the New Testament itself.

These views, however, did not meet with universal approval. Some, as Du Pin (*Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles.*, Paris, 1686, etc.), referred it to the third century ; others, following Pearson (*Cotl. Patr. Apost.*, v. 11, app. 251, edit. 1724), to the fifth ; with Ussher, to the sixth (*id.*, app. 199) ; whilst others have not scrupled to pronounce it a com-

paratively modern forgery. (Daillé, *de Pseud. Apost.*, iii. Hardov. 1653.)

It is no exaggeration to say that the Apostolical *Later criticism.* Constitutions have proved the crux of early Christian literature ; and, so long as internal evidence alone was available, it did not appear that the problems they presented admitted of any solution. Of later years, however, the discovery of a series of cognate documents has shown that the Apostolical Constitutions are really a collection of independent, though kindred, treatises upon Church worship and discipline.

II. THE DIDASCALIA

The present Greek text of the Apostolical Con- *Divisions of the Ap. Con.* stitution is divided into eight books, but these may be redivided into four parts, each overlapping the subject-matter of the others, and evidently produced in different sections of the Church, separated in time and locality. These four parts are : (1) Books i.–vi. ; (2) Book vii. ; (3) Book viii. ; and (4) The Canons appended to Book viii.

The first six books form a complete treatise *Didascalia.* upon Christian order and worship. The same treatise exists also in a briefer form in Syriac,

Ethiopic, Arabic, and (partially) in Latin. In the three oriental versions the title " Didascalia " is used, a term which the Greek extends so as to include the viith and viiith Books. The Greek division into books does not appear in any of these versions, and is probably due to the hand of a later editor of the Greek text.

Syriac text.   The Syriac version was first published by Lagarde (*Reliquiæ Juris Eccl. Antiquissimæ Syriace*, 1856) from a Paris MS. (Cod. Sangerm. 60). In 1899, another Syriac MS. of the Didascalia was discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris, who has since added a third Codex. [Referred to *infra* as Harris (1) and Harris (2).] Further light has also been obtained from a British Museum MS. (Add. MSS. 12,154 of the eighth or ninth century), and a series of extracts discovered in the University library at Cambridge. (MS. 2023 of the thirteenth century.) All these have been rendered accessible in the collated text published by Mrs. Gibson in 1903. (Horae Semiticae, Nos. 1, 2, Lond. and Camb. 1903.)

Lagarde's text.   Of these Lagarde's text approaches nearest to the Greek of the Apostolical Constitutions i.–vi., and should, therefore, be first considered. On publishing this text Lagarde expressed the opinion that it represented the original more nearly than

the current Greek version.   Against this, Bickell
(*Geschichte des Kirchenrechtes Giessen.* 1843. vol. 1,
p. 60) maintained that the Syriac was but an
abridgment of the Greek ; but at the time of
enunciating this theory he had only seen extracts
from the Syriac.   Bickell's view has been recently
revived by an American Rabbi, Dr. Kohler. (*Jewish
Encyclopædia*, vol. iv., p. 588.   1903.)

Lagarde's opinion, however, appears the more
probable on the following grounds :—

I. The Syriac text corresponds more closely
with the quotations of Epiphanius.   For example,
Epiphanius quotes the Audæans as using the
διάταξις of the Apostles as their authority for
observing the Passover " when your brethren from
the circumcision do." (ὁρίζουσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ
διατάξει οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζητε, ἀλλὰ
ποιεῖτε ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς. Μετ'
αὐτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε. καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν, ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν
οἱ ἐν περιτομῇ, κ.τ.λ.[1]   Epiph. ed. Migne, ii. 356–7.)
Now the Greek text cautions its readers against
celebrating the Passover at the same time as the
Jews (Ap. Con. v. 17), but the Syriac Didascalia
fully accords with the citation of Epiphanius.
(Gibson, Hor. Sem. I. pp. "ܩܡܒ‎.)   Hence it ap-
pears that the work designated by Epiphanius
as the διάταξις, is, not improbably, the same

[margin note:] Syriac shows earlier date : 1. By agreement with Epiphanius.

Didascalia which is now known in its Syriac *4*
version.

2. Less definite daily liturgy.

II. The Greek text of the Constitutions gives a complete liturgy (Ap. Con. ii. 57), consisting of two lessons from the Old Testament, lessons from the Acts and Epistles, another from the Gospels, the kiss of peace, prayer, the benediction of Numb. vi. 24–26, and the Eucharist. This is entirely absent from the Syriac version. In view of the tendency to preserve and transmit such forms, it is extremely improbable that a liturgy, once present, would ever have been omitted. It is more likely to have been inserted in the Greek than omitted from the Syriac, and this points to the superior antiquity of the latter.

As a further instance of the same, the Greek Constitutions direct the use of Psalm 63 at Morning Prayer, Psalm 141, in the evening. (Ap. Con. ii. 59.) No such direction is found in the Syriac.

3. Absence of order of Porters.

III. The Greek text speaks of an order of Porters (Ap. Con. ii. 25, 28, 57 ; iii. 11 ; vi. 17), but no such office is mentioned in the Syriac. In one parallel passage of the Syriac (to Ap. Con. ii. 57, Gibson, Hor. Sem. 1, 2), deacons are described as keeping the door. Whatever be the date of the order of Porters in the Western Church, it is first spoken of, in the Eastern Church, by Epiphanius,

and seems to have existed there to the time of the Trullan Council. The Syriac text, therefore, appears to be, either very much later, or somewhat earlier, than the Constitutions. In the light of other evidence, the latter is the more probable.

IV. The Greek text (Ap. Con. iii. 10–11) tells us that a layman may not baptize, and that imposition of hands after Baptism may only be performed by a Bishop. Neither occurs in the Syriac, although it is extremely unlikely that such passages would be omitted even by a very hasty abbreviator, more especially as the preceding prohibition against a woman baptizing is found in both. (Ap. Con. iii. 9, and fol. in the Syriac.)

4. Minister of Baptism.

V. The Greek text (Ap. Con. iii. 16) says, ἔπειτα ἢ σύ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ὁ ὑπὸ σὲ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπονομάσας ἐπίκλησιν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγιοῦ Πνεύματος, βαπτίσεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι,[2] where the parallel Syriac merely says : "let a man repeat over them the names of the invocation of the Godhead in the water." Here the Greek shows later date by giving the formula in full ; for it is most improbable that this formula once stated would ever have been abridged or omitted. Possibly also the restriction of the invocation to the baptizing priest shows a fuller and later liturgical development.

5. Ministration of Baptism.

6. Fuller requirements for Episcopal ordination.

VI. The Greek text (Ap. Con. iii. 20) directs that a Bishop be consecrated—or ordained, to use the older expression—by three or more bishops, a rule absent from the Syriac. Since this regulation came to be regarded as extremely important, it is unlikely to have been omitted from the Syriac, if it had ever stood there; it is more probably an insertion in the Greek.

7. Double unction.

VII. The Greek Constitutions (Ap. Con. iii. 15–16) speak of anointing both before and after Baptism; the Syriac mentions the latter anointing only. The earliest external reference to prior unction occurs in Cyril of Jerusalem in the 4th century, whilst post-Baptismal unction was known in the days of Tertullian and Cyprian. This again suggests the later date of the Greek.

8. Use of Chrism.

VIII. In post-Baptismal unction the Syriac directs the use of oil, the Greek requires μύρον (Chrisma). Although the date of the introduction of μύρον is not known, its use was certainly later than that of simple oil. (Ap. Con. iii. 15–16.)

Use of these points.

It is true that these ritual points are precarious in establishing a date, by reason of the divergence of local uses, so that what was recent in one locality may have been of considerable antiquity in another. Yet they may be safely employed in examining the *relative* ages of two redactions of

the same work. It may be noted that the Old Testament quotations in the Greek are nearly three times as numerous as in the Syriac, though many of the longer citations in the Syriac are curtailed in the Greek. (Ap. Con. ii. 14 quotes Ezekiel xviii. 2–14, 19–21, 24, 27–28 ; the corresponding Syriac Ezekiel xviii. 1–32. Ap. Con. ii. 25 gives Numbers xviii. 1, 8–10, 12–15 ; the Syriac continuously 1–32.) It is dangerous, however, to deduce too definite a conclusion from this, though it fully accords with general experience that the copyist tends to enlarge rather than abridge. In this case the Greek text is fuller, in so far it gives more numerous quotations, although many of these are shortened.

On the cumulative evidence arising from these considerations it appears most probable that the Syriac represents the earlier form from which the present Greek version is derived. This earlier form, the true Didascalia, whether in Syriac or, as is probable, in a Greek original, now lost, is the parent of the first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions.

General conclusion.

III. THE HARRIS TEXTS

Harris texts compared with Lagarde's Syriac.

The two Harris codices show a text somewhat further removed from the existing Greek than the Cod. Sangerman of Lagarde. Harris (1) supplies an introduction (folios 1b–2a), which occurs neither in Lagarde's text nor in the extant Greek. In the former, its absence may be accidental, but its mention of "subdeacons," an order unknown to the East before the time of Athanasius (Hist. Arian. c. 60), seems to suggest a later date.

The portion beginning " about the ordination of bishops" [Harris (1), folios 8a–14a, ff. of Harris (1) are given in margin of Gibson's edition, and cover the text of Harris (2) unless especially noted] is absent from Lagarde's text, which here again agrees with the extant Greek against the Harris codices. In this portion subdeacons are again mentioned. [Harris (1) fol. 9a.] Both Harris codices contain the "Two Ways" [Harris (1) ff. 11b–13b], an interpolated treatise which is the basis of book vii. of the Greek Constitutions; whilst Harris (2) proceeds to insert an appendix which, with the " Two Ways," forms the Epitome, a treatise which will be later discussed (*infra*, sect.

x.).   Harris (1) then adds the "Commandments of Addai the Apostle" and Canons. [Harris (1) ff. 11b–13b.] From this it is evident that the Harris codices are independently interpolated, and consequently diverge more widely from the Greek form.

Besides this, the Syriac of Lagarde corresponds far more closely with Epiphanius' quotations as to the observance of the Passover, the Harris codices omitting the words "commence when your brethren of the circumcision keep the Passover." (*Vide supra*, p. 15.)

Two passages, moreover, common to the extant Greek and Lagarde's Syriac, are absent from the Harris codices. (Ap. Con. ii. 50–53, and iii. 19, with parallels in Lagarde)

It would appear, therefore, that Lagarde's text represents most nearly the original form from which the Harris codices and the Greek Constitutions have been independently derived, the former by a few important additions, the latter by expansion and interpolation.

Conclusion.

IV. THE LATIN DIDASCALIA

The Latin text.

In 1900 Hauler published a Latin version of the Didascalia which he had obtained from a Vienna palimpsest. *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta.* (Vienna, 1900.) Unfortunately, this version is fragmentary; yet there is sufficient to satisfactorily show its character. Like the Constitutions, it is a compilation and consists of three parts—

A compilation.

(A) Nos. i.–lxiv. (Hauler, pp. 1–90) substantially corresponding to the Syriac Didascalia, the basis of Ap. Con. i.–vi.

(B) Nos. lxv.–lxvii. 30 (Hauler, pp. 92–101) are a version of the ἐπιτομή parallel to the basis of Ap. Con. vii.

(C) Nos. lxvii. 30—lxxx. (Hauler, pp. 101–121) contain a rescension of the "Testament of Our Lord."

The two latter parts will be examined at a later stage.

Probable age.

The age of the whole may be judged by the liturgical forms in (C) which, by the complete subordination of the diaconate, the amplification of the prayers, and the double unction of Baptism,

designate a later date than the Syriac Didascalia.
Little can be drawn from the mention of the sub-
deacon (cc. 11, 12, 13, 21, 28, etc.), as this order
existed at a comparatively early date in the
Western Church (*e.g.* Epist. Cornelii, Migne, P. L.
iii. 744).

The text has no trace of the interpolation of the
Constitutions, and so appears an independent
version from the parent Syriac.

That this parent was in Greek appears from the
following considerations.

The Greek, Latin and Syriac versions give a
mystical explanation why there should be ten
commandments. (Gibson's Syriac, fol. 32a and
ch. xxi.; *cf.* Ap. Con. ii. 25, and v. 15.) In both
Greek and Syriac the same letter designates the
figure ten, and is the initial of Jesus' name. In
Latin the letter, I which is the initial of Jesus'
name, has not the numerical value of ten, so that
the mystical reason does not hold good. Thus the
Latin entirely misses the significance, interpolates
a reference to S. Matt. v. 18, adds a far-fetched
simile " id est unus apex," based on the rendering
apex for κεραία, and gives no explanation of the ten
at all.

(Hauler, xxxxviii. 17-20) :

Decalogum enim proferens

significavit Ie(su)m ; i enim iota signifi
cat, iota autem initium nominis est
Ie(s)u.

(id. ll. 3-8 ;)

Lex uero est decalogus et indicia si
cuti testimonium praebet Ie(su)s d(omi)n(u)s dicens:
Iota, id est unus apex, non transiet a lege iota
quidem est quod non transiet a lege : iota
autem significatur per decalogum nomen Ie(s)u
apex uero signum est extensionis ligni.

That this misunderstood passage is derived from
a Greek text further appears from the fact that the
I is here called Iota.

Evidently, then, the Latin is derived from a Greek
original, an original very closely corresponding
to the Syriac of Lagarde and, presumably, the
parent Didascalia.

V. THE ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA

The Ethio-
pic text.

An Ethiopic version of the Didascalia was
published by T. P. Platt (Oriental Translation
Fund, 1834, B. F. B. G.), and is represented by four
MSS. in the British Museum (Or. MSS. 752,

dated A.D. 1721–30 ; 793, same date ; 797, earlier part of eighteenth century ; 799, A.D. 1706) containing practically the same text as that published by Platt. Substantially it agrees with the Syriac of Lagarde and, like it, omits the additional matter which the Harris codices join to ch. iii. of the Syriac. (Harris, ff. 8a–14a.) It agrees with the preface of Cod. Harris (1) and makes mention of subdeacons both there and in ch. vi. (Platt, p. 61).

There are certain passages, however, in which the Ethiopic seems to be interpolated from the Greek Constitutions. The eighth chapter (Platt, p. 86) inserts the instance of Susanna as in Ap. Con. ii. 49—an instance not given in the Syriac. So its liturgy (Platt, p. 61) fairly corresponds with that of Ap. Con. ii. 57, and the same Psalms (63 and 141) are given for daily use as in Ap. Con. ii. 59. The whole 14th chapter (Platt, pp. 115–116) of the Ethiopic is the rendering of the passage Ap. Con. iii. 10–11, which does not occur at all in the Syriac. The rite of Baptism in the Ethiopic also agrees with that of the Constitutions against the Syriac Didascalia, giving prior unction in oil and subsequent unction with balsam. ቅብአ፡በለሳነክ። (Platt, p. 120.) Similarly, the two last chapters of the Ethiopic (xxi. and xxii.—Platt, pp. 129–131), on the duties of children and servants, are common to it and

[margin note: Interpolated from Ap. Con.]

the Greek Apostolical Constitutions (Ap. Con. iv. 11–12), but are absent from the Syriac. Like the Latin, the Ethiopic text is from the Greek, as it also quotes Iota as the initial of Jesus' name. ቀደ:ጏ:ሰሞ:በሊ,ያሕ,ሰ: የወጠ:[3] (Platt, p. 60.) We are led to conclude that the Ethiopic was derived from the original lost Greek text of the Didascalia, and, at some later date revised and interpolated from the more recent text of the Apostolical Constitutions.

VI. THE ARABIC DIDASCALIA

Arabic text.   The Arabic version of the Didascalia was known as long ago as 1711, and Grabe (Essay upon Two Arabick MSS. London. 1711) rightly surmised that it contained an earlier form of the Constitutions. Although it is plentifully represented in MSS. (Brit. Mus., Rich. 7207, 7211 ; Paris, Cod. Arab. Christ. 126; Cod. Suppl. Arab. 78, 83 ; Oxford, Hunt 458, 3132; Vatican, 151), it has not been rendered generally accessible in a Compilation complete form. Like the Latin Didascalia and the in two parts. Apostolical Constitutions, it is a compilation. Of its thirty-nine chapters i.–xxxiv. contain the Dida-

scalia proper, corresponding to part (A) of the Latin ; chapters xxxv.–xxxix. give the Testament of Our Lord, which forms part (C) of the Latin.

The earlier Didascalia portion is closely allied to the Ethiopic, but shows even more evidently modern points, such as giving the use of incense at the liturgy, in the latter part (xxxviii. 17). *Later than the Ethiopic.*

VII. GENERAL VIEW OF THE DIDASCALIA

According to the Bishop of Salisbury, "The Didascalia is rather a somewhat rambling discourse on church life and society than a church order." (Wordsworth : Ministry of Grace, 2nd. edit. 1903, pp. 35.) It is at once the precursor of the written liturgy and the earliest manual of canon law. It treats briefly of the moral law, dwelling especially on the relations between husband and wife : it then deals with Bishops and Deacons, laying especial stress upon the judicial functions of the episcopate : it next turns to the maintenance of widows and orphans, and thence to the reverence due to martyrs and confessors. It continues with directions concerning the observance of Sunday, of *Contents of the Didascalia.*

Easter, of fasting and of Holy Week. It concludes with warnings against heresies and against the Jews.

As we have already seen, it exists now in three groups : the parent text, most nearly represented by the Syriac and Latin versions ; the two derived texts, the older evidently the first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions, the later extant in the Arabic and Ethiopic versions. The prior derivation of the Didascalia itself must be considered later. For the present, the Didascalia, as represented by the Latin and Syriac texts, is to be regarded as the source of the first six books of the Constitutions. We have already noted that of these the Latin is evidently derived from a Greek source. It appears probable that this Greek text, now lost, is the origin of the Syriac, rather than *vice versa*. As the eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions bear evident marks of the hand of the same editor, it will be preferable to postpone the examination of the manner in which this Didascalia was expanded into Ap. Con. i.–vi. until a later stage of the inquiry.

VIII. DATE OF THE DIDASCALIA

The first mention of the Didascalia by Epiph- Date. Zahn's theory.
anius (Migne, *P. G.*, ii. 356–7) is in connection with
the Audaeans, a sect which arose about A.D. 340–350,
and hence Zahn (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, ii. 498
sqq., 1900) has maintained its Audaean origin.
Epiphanius does not of necessity imply that this
was so : he merely mentions the Audaeans as citing
the book, and thus places an inferior limit to its
date.

Professor Harnack regarded the Didascalia as an Harnack's theory.
anti-Novatian work, bent on maintaining the older
discipline, which the Novatians regarded as cul-
pably lax. (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, II. i. ; *Die
Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, p. 244, note 2, 1884.)

On this ground he dated it A.D. 268–302. He
has since retracted this opinion, and assigned an
earlier date on the ground of the primitive
character of the hierarchy described in the
Didascalia ; but he considers it interpolated by an
anti-Novatian. (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, II. v. ;
Die Quellen der sogen. Kirchenord., p. 76, 1886.)
The subsequent discovery of Hauler's Latin
fragments has rendered this theory untenable.

Funk (*Die Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, 1891)
dated it A.D. 250, on its ground of the primitive
hierarchy and its silence both as regards the mon-
archian controversy and the question of heretical
baptism. This opinion he has since retracted
(*Revue d'Histoire Ecclés.* Louvain, October 1901)
and assigned a much later date. The development
of the hierarchy varied much in different localities
and is, consequently, no certain proof of date,
although admissible evidence as to the relative ages
of two rescensions. The question of heretical
Baptism was confined to the Western Church ;
outside the one instance of Firmilian of Caesarea,
who supported Cyprian, the Eastern Church does
not appear to have taken the slightest interest in
the matter. Funk regards the controversy on the
Deity of Christ as dormant between the dates of
Paul of Samosata and Arius. He then declares
his adherence to Harnack's earlier theory of an anti-
Novatian origin. This, which places it about the
close of the third century, seems the opinion most
agreeable to modern scholarship.

IX. THE DIDACHE

The seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions consists of two distinct parts—(1) a moral instruction based on the similitude of "Two Ways"; and (2) a liturgical portion. [(1) chapters i.–xix.; (2) chapters xx.–xlviii.]

The Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων discovered by *Didache.* Bryennios in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople in 1874, and published by him in 1883, contains the substance of this book, but in a much briefer form. The differences between this *Relation to Ap. Con. vii.* and the seventh book of the Constitutions are very *parallel to that of Dida-* similar to those which differentiate the Didascalia *scalia and Ap. Con. i.–* from the first six books of the Constitutions, *vi.* namely : (1) the Constitutions make a larger use of Scriptural quotations and illustrations, especially of those drawn from the Old Testament ; (2) they contain completer and more modern liturgical formulae ; and (3) soften away difficulties. These two latter considerations lead to the conclusion that the Didache is of earlier date ; all three tend to denote that the hand which expanded the Didascalia into Ap. Con. i.–vi. was the same which enlarged the Didache into Ap. Con. vii.

Didache older than Ap. Con. vii. proved by (1) liturgical formulae.

The liturgical forms show the earlier date of the Didache. (1) Its account of Baptism follows the early type, without any unction either before or after, and is, by preference, to be performed in running water (ch. vii.). The Constitutions omit the direction as to running water and insert the prior unction with oil and the subsequent unction with chrism. (Ap. Con. vii. 22.) (2) The Constitutions contain a form for the benediction of chrism, which has no parallel in the Didache. (Ap. Con. vii. 27.) (3) The Didache speaks of Apostles as still extant as a Church order (ch. xi.). These are no longer known to the Constitutions. (4) The last sixteen chapters of the Ap. Con. vii. contain a series of liturgical formulae of a later type than anything in the Didache. These speak of " catechumens " (Ap. Con. vii. 39–40), of the " renunciation " at Baptism (Ap. Con. vii. 41), of consecration of the baptismal water (Ap. Con. vii. 43), and of the chrism (Ap. Con. vii. 44). Thus the Constitutions show a later liturgical development than the Didache.

The date of the Didache, as that of the " Constitutions," has been the subject of much controversy. Dr. Lightfoot regarded it as a work of the sub-Apostolic age, and in this has been followed by the majority of writers. " For some reason or another, the Doctrine has been the spoiled child of

criticism. Here, and only here, suspicion has slept, and instead of the facts proving the youth of the book, the book has been held to show the age of the facts." (Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve*, p. 21.) Dr. Bigg holds that the Didache in its present form did not exist before the fourth century, and cites the use of the word χριστέκπορος (xii. 5), derived from the epigram " not Christians but Christmongers." This epigram " was, in fact, a current fourth-century by-word, and dates the book in which it is found as certainly as the 'tragedy' of the Pseudo-Phalaris." (Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve*, p. 23.) This date is further supported by the liturgical references, especially to the administration of Baptism by affusion which, up to the third century, was done only in cases of sickness (id. p. 21–23, and notes *passim*). Though the liturgical forms are thus later than has been generally supposed, they are earlier than those of the Apostolical Constitutions. Dr. Bigg considers that the Didache represents the peculiar customs of some obscure—perhaps Montanist—sect (id. pp. 23–43).

The softening of difficult passages shows a later (2) by soften-ing difficul-ties in the Didache. date for the Constitutions, on the principle " proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua." Thus (1) the unknown quotation ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται·

ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς [4] in the Didache (i. 6) is softened by the Constitutions into ἐὰν ἔχεις, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. [5] (Ap.Con.vii.12.)

(2) The exaggerated language of Didache iv. 1, τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον [6] is modified into τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ δοξάσεις, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναί σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον. [7]   (Ap. Con. vii. 9.)

(3) The obscure expression ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας [8] is omitted from the Constitutions. (Did. xi. 11.)

(4) The difficult word ἐκπέτασις is glossed by " the sign of the Son of Man in heaven." (Did. xvi. 6 ; Ap. Con. vii. 32.)

On these grounds it appears that the seventh book of the Constitutions is an enlargement of the Didache, rather than the Didache an abridgment of the Constitutions.

X. THE EPITOME

In 1843 Bickell published a treatise entitled ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, which he had dis

covered at Vienna. It is in two parts, the former being a moral treatise based on the similitude of "Two Ways," the latter liturgical. The first portion is essentially the same as the first part of the Didache, but with the following differences: it is enlarged by an introduction and by interpolations which distribute the matter dramatically between the Apostles; on the other hand, it omits the summary of the Sermon on the Mount, which occurs in ch. i. of the Didache, and the description of the way of death. Evidently both the Epitome and the Didache drew their moral parts from a common treatise, which is presented with only trifling · variations in the two.

Compared with the Didache.

The second — the liturgical — portion of the Epitome is quite different from that of the Didache, and, though briefer, represents a much more fully-developed Church order. It is almost exclusively concerned with ordination. Whilst the Didache is known only in the text Bryennios and in the interpolated form given in the seventh book of the Constitutions, the Epitome or the "Apostolic Church Order," as it is called by Bishop Wordsworth, is extant in Greek, Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic versions. Certain Montanist leanings in reference to visions (*vide* Bryennios' edition of the Didache, Constantinople, 1883, page πά. This

Liturgical part.

edition gives the full text of the Epitome, pp.
οβ′–πγ′ for sake of comparison), and in the prefer-
ence accorded to celibacy (as to Bishops : καλὸν μὲν
εἶναι ἀγύναιος,[9] *id.* p. οθ′. Of Elders: τρόπῳ τινὶ
ἀπερχομένους τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκας συνελεύσεως.[10] *id.* p. οθ′.)
make it probable that it proceeded from Asia
Minor. Professor Harnack inclines to date it
about A.D. 300, and considers that it gradually
replaced the Didache. (Harnack, *Die Lehre der
Zwölf.* 1886.) But Dr. Bigg (*Doctrine of the
Twelve*, p. 18) regards the Epitome as the earlier
work.

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XI. THE COPTIC VERSION OF THE EPITOME

Boharic text]   The Canons of the Coptic Church were pub-
lished in a Boharic text from a MS. in the
possession of the Duke of Northumberland by
Archdeacon Tattam in 1848. (Oriental Trans.
Fund. The text is also found in Berlin MS. Or.
519.) This Boharic text was, in the MS., accom-
Sahidic panied by an Arabic translation. A Sahidic text,
text.
substantially the same as the Boharic, was pub-
lished by Lagarde in 1883. (Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*,
pp. 248–266.)

These Canons are in seven books and form a

collection somewhat similar to the Apostolic Constitutions, and are, like those Constitutions, ascribed to Clement. (ⲛⲁⲕⲗⲏⲙⲏⲥ)

To these Canons Bishop Wordsworth gives the name of Heptateuch. The first two books contain the Epitome, very slightly divergent from the Greek text published by Bickell. The passage "about the readers" which the Greek attributes to Matthias, is here given under the name of S. James, and is slightly postponed. In the Greek anger is described as a "masculine demon," lust as a "female demon": in the Coptic the former is an "evil demon" (ⲟⲩⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉϥϩⲱⲟⲩ), the latter simply "a demon."

XII. SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE EPITOME

The Syriac Octateuch—to use Bishop Words- Syriac Octateuch. worth's title—is a collection roughly parallel to the Apostolical Constitutions and to the seven books of the Coptic Canons. It is represented in the appendix to the Malabar Bible (Camb. Oo. 1–2 ff.), and also in a codex in the library of the Uniat Syrian Metropolitan at Mosul, a text which was partly transcribed in the London *Journal of*

Theological Studies for October 1901. In this collection the Epitome forms the third book.

Other texts (1) in Cod. Harris.   Besides these two texts of the Octateuch, the Syriac version of the Epitome occurs also as an insertion in ch. iii. of Codex Harris (2) of the Syriac Didascalia. Of these three versions those in the Malabar Bible and in Codex Harris (2) are similar. That in the Mosul Codex has certain peculiarities. Jude is described as the "son of Cephas" instead of "son of James." Now "Jude son of James" is evidently due to the Ἰούδαν Ἰακώβου in S. Luke vi. 16, and Acts i. 13 : "son of Cephas" can be no other than a slip. Again, the speech of S. Matthias is ascribed to S. James and slightly postponed.

Harris (2).   A fourth version occurs in Codex Harris (1) (ff. 9a–11a), which gives only the earlier part that is found in both the Epitome and Didache, but divided between the Apostles as in the Epitome. It must not be overlooked that this attributes one portion to each of the Apostles named in the opening lines, and does so in exactly the order in which they are there enumerated, avoiding the second speeches attributed to SS. Peter, John, James, Matthew, Philip and Andrew in all the other versions of the Epitome ; avoiding also their insertion of Cephas as a person distinct from

Peter, which is in no wise authorized by the list in the opening lines, and avoiding also the introduction of Martha and Mary, whose presence is not mentioned in the opening portion.

There are thus three forms of the Syriac Epitome— *Genealogy of these Syriac versions.*

1. That of Harris (1).
2. That of the Malabar Bible and Harris (2).
3. That of the Mosul Codex.

Of these Harris (1) evidently represents the earlier, or rather the parent, version from which the Greek Epitome and the other Syriac forms have been made by the addition of the second, liturgical, part. The Mosul Codex probably represents the later form, or possibly a careless transcription, of the full Epitome in its two parts.

XIII. THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

It has been noted that the first part of Didache occurs also in the Epitome in company with a different second part, and in Codex Harris (1) by itself. The bulk of the common matter, without the additions of the Didache or Epitome and without the interpolations which occur in each, is found in chapters xviii.-xx. of the Epistle of Barnabas. *Matter common to Didache, Epitome and Barnabas.*

Prof. Harnack regards the version of this Epistle as the earlier form, but there are reasons which render this improbable.

(1) The Didache speaks briefly of a two-fold road, the way ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, an expression probably borrowed from Jeremiah xxi. 8. Barnabas has a more expanded description in which the roads are portrayed as being those φωτὸς καὶ σκότους. It is more probable that Barnabas is derived from the Didache (or its parent), than *vice versa*: the diffuse and periphrastic from the simpler and more scriptural.

(2) In the Didache the way of life is described as beginning with the two-fold duty of " honouring God Who made thee " and thy neighbour, evidently following S. Matt. xxii. 37. In Barnabas the reference is obscured by the omission of the second part, whilst the first is expanded into, " Thou shalt love Him that made thee, thou shalt fear Him that created thee, thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death." Again, the passage in Barnabas is the less scriptural and the more periphrastic, and therefore, in all probability, the derived one.

(3) In the Didache (ch. ii.) we read οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις.[11] This appears in Barnabas as οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις [12] in which πορνεύσεις is evidently

an error for φονεύσεις which is omitted after
παιδοφθορήσεις. Thus the reference to the sixth
commandment is altogether left out from the
Epistle of Barnabas.

(4) The Didache (2) says : οὐ μισήσεις πάντα
ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ,
οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου,[13] a perfectly
natural sequence. In Barnabas merely the last
phrase is given as a striking saying and apart from
any connection with the context.

(5) In the Didache (3) we read : " Thou shalt not
exalt thyself, thou shalt not admit boldness to thy
soul. Thy soul shall not be joined to the lofty, but
thou shalt walk with the righteous and humble : "
the whole very naturally arising out of a command
to humility. In Barnabas this is torn into three
parts ; " thou shalt not exalt thyself " follows " thou
shalt never forsake the commandments of the
Lord." " Thou shalt not admit boldness to thy
soul " comes after " thou shalt not plan evil against
thy neighbour " : whilst the rest is joined to a
prohibition of covetousness.

(6) Didache ch. iv. reads τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν
λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.[14] Barnabas
divides this into two commands—ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην
τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον
Κυρίου. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας [15]—

rather like a softening of the words of the
Didache which are, however, quite in accordance
with Jewish sayings commanding reverence to
the Rabbis. Moreover the words of the Didache
more closely follow the text of Hebrews xiii. 7, in
joining μνησθήσῃ with λαλοῦντος.

(7) The Didache (ch. iv.) deals in order with
duty towards teachers, the needy and children,
then of masters towards slaves and of slaves
towards masters. In Barnabas this natural order
is disturbed. Duty to children stands be-
tween prohibitions of abortion and covetousness :
the order of the duties of masters and slaves
being inverted contrary to the New Testament
usage.

(8) The whole Epistle of Barnabas quotes the
New Testament loosely, evidently from memory.
This is quite parallel to its quotation of the Didache.

It seems more probable, therefore, that the
Didache is the earlier form from which the Epistle
is derived.

XIV. THE LATIN DUAE VIAE

Discovery of Latin text.   A brief Latin version, similar in contents to the
Syriac of Codex Harris (1), has been discovered by
Gebhardt. He perceived that a Latin codex of a

Doctrina Apostolorum was enumerated amongst the MSS. at Malk in 1747. He requested the librarian, Herr Vincenz Stanfer, to send him this MS., but it had disappeared from the library. On further examination it proved, however, that the version, a mere fragment, had been already printed by Pez in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus.*

This fragment shows that the summary of the Sermon on the Mount which occurs in the Didache, but is absent from the Epitome and Barnabas, is also absent from the Latin. Yet the Latin is not itself representative of the original source, for it bears the enlargement of comparing the two ways to light and darkness, as in Barnabas, and the further addition : " In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis." Nor is it derived from Barnabas, for it preserves the order of the Didache. It is probably a separate reduction from the original, though possibly its nearest representative.

Its character.

Other Latin texts.

A fuller text of this same " Doctrina " has been discovered in a Frising MS. at Munich and published by Schlecht. (Schlecht, *Doctrina XII Apost.*, Friburg, 1900.)

The Epitome in its later and completer form, similar to that of the Greek text, forms the second part of the Latin Didascalia published by Hauler.

XV. THE 'TWO WAYS'

It is now possible to make some inquiry about the original of both the Didache and the Epitome. It is noteworthy that a book "qui appellatur duae viae, vel judicium Petri" is enumerated by Rufinus (*de Symb. Apost.* 36) amongst apocryphal works. The parallel passage in Athanasius' list (Epist. Festiv. 39) reads Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων. It seems very probable that these two titles designate the same work, and that this is to be identified with the first part of the Didache.

The Duae Viae.

The Latin translation of the Epistle of Barnabas omits chapters xviii.–xx. for which Dr. Salmon (*Introd. to N. T.*, 7th ed. pp. 553–4) suggests the reason that their substance was already known to the West in this "Duae Viae." It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the material common to the Didache, Epitome and Barnabas represents the orignal work, and this appears to be actually the matter which forms the Latin texts of Gebhardt and Schlecht. This original form is represented by the first part of the Didache, less the passage in which the Sermon on the Mount is summarized. This original text seems to be the

Its relation to Didache, etc.

treatise which was known to the West as the Duae
Viae or Judicium Petri, and to the East as although
this name was afterwards extended to the enlarged
version which was rediscovered by Bryennios, just
as the title "Didascalia" stands at the head of the
eight books of the Apostolical Constitution
although it properly belongs to the shorter form
which forms the base of books i.–vi.

Schlecht (*Doctrina XII Apost.*, Friburg, 1900) Jewish
origin of the
has satisfactorily proved the independence of the Duae Viae.
"Two Ways" as a treatise, its antiquity and its
Judaism. It is evidently either a Jewish work, or
is based on a Jewish work. The "golden rule" is
given in the negative form (Did. i. 2), πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν
θελήσῃς μὴ γένεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει,[16] which
is the form ascribed to Rabbi Hillel. (Babli. Shab.
31 b, and Aboth R. N. B. 26.) Dr. Köhler (*Jewish* Although
this Judaism
Enc., art. "Didache") also considers it parallel to has been
exaggerated.
Onkelos on Lev. xix. 18, but this is not so evident,

לא תקום ולא תטר דבבו לבני עמך
ותרהם להברך כותד. [17]

It must be noted, however, that the same
negative form was known to Christian writers from
Tobit iv. 16.

It has been thought that the curious phrase :
ὁρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν

γνῷς τίνι δῷς (Did. i. 6) is an early Targum on Gen. iii. 19 (*cf.* Targ. Jonathan *in loco*). Again, in Didache xiv. we read ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθάραν,[18] which seems quoted from Malachi i. 11. But the text of Malachi only says וּבְכָל־מָקוֹם [19] whilst its Targum says וּבְכָל עִדָּן [20] so that the Didache combines both readings.

Although Dr. Köhler (*Jewish Encyc.* articles " Didascalia " and " Didache ") and Dr. Taylor (*Teaching of the Twelve*, London, 1886) seem to have exaggerated these Judaisms, yet it remains probable that the Duae Viae was a Jewish work : a conclusion which cannot be extended, as Dr. Taylor wishes, to the full Didache, much less to the whole Constitutions as Dr. Köhler holds. This Duae Viae was directly the parent of the Latin version and of the closing chapters of Barnabas— indirectly of the two forms known as the Didache, and the Epitome, each of which is enlarged by a supplement of source unknown. It is evident, however, that the liturgical supplement of the Didache is of Syrian origin, as it inserts the doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer, a Syrian usage.

XVI. THE TREATISE (περὶ χαρισμάτων).

The eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions is a far more composite production than any of the preceding. The first two chapters are, in substance, a treatise entitled περὶ χαρισμάτων, and serve as an introduction. As a separate work the treatise exists in four MSS. at Oxford (Cod. Baroc. 26, Bodl.), at Vienna (Cod. Hist. Graec. 7), at Munich (Cod. Mon. cat. Hardt. iv. 380), and at Florence. It has been printed by Lagarde (*Reliquiae Juris. Graec.* pp. 1–4).

Ap. Con., book viii., chapters 1, 2.

A separate treatise.

A Syriac version of this treatise forms the fourth book of the Syriac Octateuch in the Mosul MS. and in the Malabar Bible. A Coptic version serves as the third book of the Coptic Canons or Heptateuch. (ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲭⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲭⲣⲟⲗⲟⲛⲓⲗ.)

Other versions of this treatise.

It is worth noting that a treatise, περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις, is enumerated amongst the works of Hippolytus on the statue discovered at Rome in 1551. It is no more than surmise, although a probable surmise, to identify this lost work with our present treatise.

The third chapter is an addition by the editor of the Constitutions, and simply serves to connect the treatise with the matter that follows.

Chap. iii.

XVII. THE CONSTITUTIONS OF HIPPOLYTUS AND
COGNATE DOCUMENTS

Constitu-
tions of
Hippolytus.

The bulk of the eighth book (chapters iv.–lvi.), omitting two liturgical interpolations (chapters v.–xv. and xxxv.–xli.), consists of a treatise bearing the name of Hippolytus, and is also extant in a separate form in the same four MSS. which contain the περὶ χαρισμάτων, and has been twice edited by Lagarde (*Reliq. Graec.*, pp. 5–18; and Hippolytus, pp. 73–89). This treatise deals with the subject of ordinations, and is thus parallel with

Last of a
Series.

much of the Didascalia. It is, however, easier to trace the gradual evolution of this treatise than that of the Didascalia. It appears that the Constitutions of Hippolytus, or διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστολων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου,[21] as its full title reads in the Oxford Codex, is the last of a series of documents still extant, in which we trace a graduated and constant development.

Canons of
Hippolytus.

Of these documents the earliest is the *Canons of Hippolytus*, which has survived only in an Arabic version of a Coptic translation. This text has been rendered accessible by D. B. von Haneberg (Canones Hippolyti, Monachi, 1870. Arabic from two Vat. MSS. Arab. 149–150, with a Latin version

by the editor), and Dr. Hans Achelis (Die ältesten Quellen des orient. Kirchernechtes, Die Canones Hip. 1891, pp. 295, *sqq.*). It consists of thirty-eight Canons dealing with ordination (1–7), gifts of healing (8), rules for admission to the Christian Church (9–17), liturgy (18–22, 26–38), the maintaining of Apostolical traditions (23), and the care of the sick (24–25). The parallelism with the Didascalia is close in substance, though these Canons are very brief. The Passover is to be observed with the Jews (c. 22) as in the Syriac version of the Didascalia. Their antiquity is shown in that martyrs are treated as an existing order (c. 6). Its Greek or Western origin is betrayed by the proscription of actors, gladiators, and Olympic candidates (c. 12). It describes Hippolytus as Bishop of Rome (pp. 27 and 63 of Haneberg's edition), against the theory of Dom G. Morin of Maredsous, who wished to identify the Treatise with the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria to the Romans, δι' Ἱππολύτου (Revue Benedictine, Jan. 1900). Although Bishop Wordsworth does not consider it a genuine work of Hippolytus, it is evidently of Western origin, as it contains (c. xix. sect. 11) the Western creed, and is, possibly, a Roman production. Dr. Wordsworth inclines to date it in the age of Victor, about the close of the second century.

These Canons of Hippolytus are a work of much the same kind as the Didascalia—as distinct from the Didache—group. It will be tolerably safe to call the former the Western group.

As has been noted, these Canons are now extant only in an Arabic version from the Coptic, although their Western origin and the original use of the Greek language is evident: for Greek was the tongue of the early Roman Church. Their rendering into Coptic shows that they circulated in the Church of Alexandria, a community in close intimacy with the Church of Rome. The mediaeval and modern Coptic Church is the direct descendant and heir of the Church of Alexandria.

Probable Roman origin.

The substance of these canons next appears in the *Ethiopic Church Order*, the Ethiopic Church being an offshoot of the ancient Church of Alexandria. This Ethiopic Church Order has been published by Ludolf (Jobi Ludolfi alias Leutolf dicti ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius, 1691, pp. 319–328), under the heading of "Statutes" (ትእዛዝት), and two MSS. copies exist in the British Museum (Orient, 793, 795). It is quite distinct from the Ethiopic Didascalia, though one of the Museum MSS. (793) contains both the Church Order and the Didascalia.

Ethiopic Church Order.

The next important document is the so-called

Testament of Our Lord, which forms the first two books of the Syrian Octateuch, and was published by Rahmani at Maintz in 1899. Rahmani took his text from a MS. at Mosul, but copies also exist in the Vatican and in the Laurentinian library at Florence, as well as in the Malabar Bible, and in another Cambridge MS. (Addit. MSS. 2919), which has been published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. ii. pp. 401, *sqq.*, 1901). Extracts also appear in Cod. Sangerman, 58, at Paris, and the last fragment of an apocalyptic prelude has been found in a MS. at Treves (Cod. Trev. 36), published by Dr. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota* (Camb. Texts and Studies, ii. 3, 1893). A Latin version of this *Testament* was the sole representative of the Didactic literature known to the West in the Middle Ages.

From a note in the Mosul MS. (Rahmani's ed., p. 149) we learn that the Syriac was translated from the Greek by Jacob of Edessa in A.D. 687 — but the Greek original is no longer extant.

The Canons of Hippolytus, the Ethiopic Church Order, and this Testament contain substantially the same matter. On the following grounds Bishop Wordsworth considers that the Canons are the original from which the Testament is derived. (On

[marginal note: Testament of our Lord.]

[marginal note: Relation between Canons and Testament.]

the other hand, see Funk: das Test. des Herrn und die verwandten Schriften, 1901.)

(1) The Testament has an apocryphal setting (claiming that it is the instruction given by our Lord during the forty days before His Ascension): this is not in the Canons.

(2) The Canons have but one prayer for ordination, merely altering the words presbyter and deacon, as occasion requires. The fuller form in the Testament implies later date.

(3) In the Canons this ordination prayer is briefer and less definite.

(4) The Canons are less ascetic.

(5) The Canons have a simpler form of instruction.

(6) The Canons have a more primitive picture of the office of a Deacon.

(7) The ministry of women is more developed and formal in the Testament.

(8) The Testament has a fuller scheme of festivals.

A Latin version of the Testament forms the third part of Hauler's text (lxvii. 31–lxxx.). This is fairly like the Ethiopic Church Order, but the rite of Confirmation is more elaborate and has the double unction.

Latin version of Testament.   In the Latin text we read "Dexius erit nomen Antichristi" (Gloss. at end of Hauler's fragments).

Now Decius' persecution took place in A.D. 250, so that the date of the Testament would seem to lie in the second half of the third century.

The Canons of Hippolytus (Can. xix. pp. 124–132 in Haneberg's ed.), the Testament (ii. 8), and the Latin text of Hauler, contain the Western creed in all its essential features. On this ground Bishop Wordsworth, in the Internationale Theologische Zeitschrift (No. 31, Berne, 1900), attributes to all a common Western origin, probably Roman.

In its extant form, however, the Testament contains much oriental matter. It speaks of the Eastern festival of the Epiphany, first mentioned in the West by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 2). Its forty days Easter, with only two days preceding fast, represent the pre-Athanasian use of Alexandria. Whence these non-Roman additions? Dom G. Morin (Revue Benedictine, Jan. 1900) considers them to be Montanist interpolations. In support of this he cites from the Testament its severity towards post-Baptismal sin (i. 37), its absence of provision for penitents, its dislike of second marriages (i. 20), its orders of female " presbyters " (i. 35, 43), and the significant omission of the Montanist Phrygia from the list of places against which woes are denounced. Cooper and Maclean

protest against this Montanist connection, but adduce no sufficient grounds to refute Dom Morin's arguments (Cooper and Maclean, *The Testament of Our Lord.* Translated into English. London, 1902).

The final forms of the Testament is referred by Harnack to A.D. 400 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss.* xlix. 878–891, 1899), and Bishop Wordsworth would further connect it with the school of Apollinarius, Bishop of Syrian Laodicea, who died A.D. 390 (Int. theol. Zeits. No. 31, 1900).

A later Coptic version forms the second book of the Coptic Canons or Heptateuch. (Tattam, *Coptic Canons*, 1848.)

Here too we must refer again to the second part of the Epitome, which is evidently abridged from the Testament, and then clothed in the dramatic form which had already been fitted to the Duae Viae. The Didascalia itself is not improbably based on the Testament.

A third derivative is the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* existing in a Greek text, to which reference has already been made. These are extant also in Syriac, forming the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the Octateuch, and are found separately in Brit. Mus. Cod. Add. MS. 14,526. The same heading

occurs in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,527, and its contents appear to be similar. The same matter forms books four, five, and six of the Coptic Heptateuch.

We may trace the genealogy of the Testament literature thus—

	I. Canons of Hippolytus.	
	II. The Testament.	Ethiopic Church Order
III. Constitutions of Hippolytus.	(Liturgical portion of the Epitome.)	
IV. Apostolical Constitutions, Book viii.		(Didascalia)
		(Apost. Cons. Books i.—vi.)
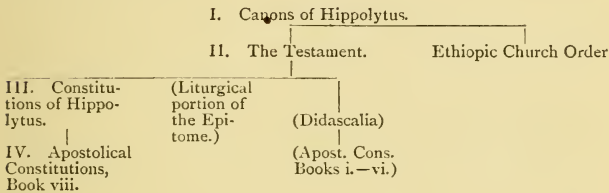
This is but a rough scheme. To each part are appended Syriac, Coptic and other derivatives, whilst there are cross derivations, notably the interpolation of the Didascalia from the matter in the Didache, the "golden rule" in the negative form (ch. i. of Syriac text), the "Two Ways," etc.

Outside this line of regular development lie three other treatises. The "Two Ways" of independent, probably, Jewish, origin : the second part of the Didache, a liturgical addition of Syrian origin, which with the Two Ways forms the Didache, and hence the basis of Apostolical Constitutions vii. Thirdly, the treatise περὶ χαρισμάτων reproduced in Apost. Cons. viii. 1–2.

XVIII. THE RITE OF ORDINATION IN THE CONSTITUTIONS

The ordination of Bishops—consecration is a modern term—is described in Apost. Cons. viii. 4–5 and its parallels. The most peculiar point in this description is that there is no mention of the imposition of hands, although this is given for the ordination of presbyters, deacons and others in the chapters following. This might be considered an accidental omission, if it were not that the same defect occurs in the Ordo Romanus and the Gregorian Sacramentary in the ordination of Bishops of Rome, although the imposition of hands is carefully described for the ordination of suffragan Bishops.

The actual order given in the Constitutions is : the Bishop is first elected, then ordained on a Sunday by several Bishops. The deacons hold the book of the Gospels over the head of the Ordinand whilst prayer is offered by the principal ordaining bishop. Another bishop then places the elements for the Holy Sacrament in the hands of the Ordinand, who is afterwards seated amongst the other bishops and kissed by them. This holding

the Gospels over the head of the Ordinand occurs also in the rite of ordaining a Roman Bishop in the *Liber Diurnus,* and in the ordination of a Coptic Patriarch, but nowhere else.

An examination of the ordination prayer in the Constitutions shows moreover a curious similarity with the corresponding prayers in the Roman rite (Sacr. Leonianum), and that of the Copts (Denzinger, p. 23). In fact, the form in the Constitutions is merely an enlarged paraphrase of the Coptic prayer, in much the same way that the seventh book of the Constitutions is an enlargement of the Didache. It hardly seems too bold to assume that the Constitutions give a literary paraphrase of the rite used at the ordination of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, a rite which is now represented by the usage of the Coptic Church.

The Roman Prayer, though different, is so far on the same plan that an independent origin is improbable. Nor is this surprising when we remember the close intercourse between the Roman and Alexandrian Churches, and it accords fully with what has already been noted as to the origin of the Orders of Hippolytus and the Testament of Our Lord.

Mr. T. A. Lacey, in a paper read in the Divinity School at Cambridge, Nov, 4, 1895 (a translation

. Lacey's eory.

in French was published in the now defunct *Revue
Anglo-Romaine*, and republished as a tract by
Poussielegue, Paris 1896—from this last the fol-
lowing notes are taken), broached the theory that
the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, at some
period anterior to the Council of Nice, substituted
the imposition of the Gospels for the imposition of
hands at their own ordination. "A new bishop,"
Mr. Lacey says, "was consecrated by a superior
authority, with imposition of hands. But the
Popes of Rome and Alexandria would certainly
not have wished to recognize any superior on
earth ; or rather, if they had admitted the superiority
of the entire episcopate, they would certainly not
have submitted to an assembly composed of
bishops of their own jurisdiction." (Lacey, *L'Im-
position des Mains*. Paris, 1896, p. 18.) During the
fifth century this new ceremony seems to have been
generally adopted in the Roman and Alexandrian
Churches, but added to, not substituted for, the
imposition of hands.

This endorses the Roman origin of the liturgical
treatises incorporated in the Apostolical Constitu-
tions, and contrasts them with the moral treatises
of the "Two Ways" and the liturgical portion of
the Didache, which were of independent—probably
Syrian—origin.

XIX. THE LITURGY OF THE CONSTITUTIONS

The liturgy of Ap. Con. viii. 5–15 is a manifest interpolation, and is not found in Cod. Baroc. With it must be compared the liturgy in ii. 57 and the formulae in the Coptic and Ethiopic versions. *Ap. Con. viii. 5–15 an interpolation.*

The liturgy of Ap. Con. viii. cannot be certainly assigned to any Church, though its Syrian origin is beyond dispute. It seems to have been a literary production, never, probably, in actual use. Brightman (*Eastern Liturgies,* pp. xxxiii. *sqq.*) regards it as prepared by the same hand as the interpolations of Book vii.—*e. g.* the long thanksgiving of chapters xxxiii.–xxxviii. "Liturgical formulae are not regarded by the compiler as rigidly fixed. . . . He has dealt freely with known formulae, *e. g.* the Creed and Gloria in excelsis. We conclude that the Clementine liturgy is on the same lines as the Antiochene diakonika, worked over and expanded by the compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions and filled in with prayers which are largely the work of the same compiler."

Its Syrian origin would rather isolate the liturgy

from the other liturgical references in the eighth book of the Constitutions, which seem of the Roman-Alexandrian type, and connect it with the final Syrian editor of the Constitutions. It will be remembered that the second part of the Didache has already been referred to a Syrian locus.

XX. THE APOSTOLICAL CANONS

Appendix to book viii.

The Apostolical Canons, a series of eighty-five rules, form the forty-seventh chapter of the eighth book of the Constitutions in most editions, but circulate also as an independent work. They were translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus at the beginning of the sixth century, and ascribed to Clement : yet even Dionysius regards them as open to question : " quibus quia plurimi consensum non praebuere facilem." In the later collection of Gratian they found no place.

Of same school as rest of Ap. Cons.

Certainly they belong to the same school as the Apostolical Constitutions, if not recast by the same editor. On the other hand, they cover a

great deal of the ground already traversed by the Didascalia and the Constitutions of Hippolytus, and do so in fairly the same order : so that they appear as a divergent rescension of the same matter. Undoubtedly a kinship with the Constitutions of Hippolytus must be allowed, although it is not quite easy to fix the place of the Canons in the genealogical tree.

According to Harnack (Harnack, *Sources of the Canons*, ch. iv.) our present text of the Canons is derived from two documents. This he deduces mainly from the parallelism between Canons 20 and 22. He further considers that no less than five works were used by the editor : the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache, an old list of the Apostles, and two other works for which he conjectures the titles κατάστασις τοῦ κλήρου and κατάστασις τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The editor added Canons 1–3, assigned sentences to the various Apostles, drew 4–15 mainly from Barnabas and the Didache, cancelled the numbers of presbyters, widows, etc., in 16–23, and inserted the list of the Apostles. Whilst accepting these conclusions, it is difficult to avoid the supposition that the Didascalia and some or other of the "Testament" series were in the hands of the editor.

As to the age of these Canons. We gather

from 30, 81, 83 that the Empire was Christian. Canon 85 further shows that the eight books of Date. the Constitutions were already in existence. Either then, the Canons are the final work of the editor of the Apostolical Constitutions, or are a later addition.

These same Canons form the eighth book of the Other Syrian Octateuch and the seventh book of the versions. Coptic Heptateuch. All these are substantially the same. There is also an Ethiopic version (Ludolf, Statuta i.–xiii., pp. 314–320), but in this the reference to the eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions is not found. We may consequently regard this reference in the Greek as an interpolation: so that the theory of one hand editing the Constitutions and Canons is rendered the more probable.

The decrees of the Council of Nice make reference to the "Canons of the Apostles," and these references are fully justified by the present Canons. The following table shows this correspondence—

Agreement with Nicene decrees.	Nicene Canon	1	quotes Apost. Can.	21, 22
	„ „	2	„ „	„	80
	„ „	5	„ „	„	13, 33
	„ „	9	„ „	„	61
	„ „	10	„ „	„	62
	„ „	15, 16	„ „	,	14, 15

Considering the evident date of the latter it seems more probable that the references are to general rules as extant in the Didascalia, Didache, etc., and that the compilation of extracts headed " Canons" was later, possibly suggested by the words of the Council. It is hardly likely, moreover, that a council would have set itself openly against the Emperor's interference, as is the case in Canons 30, 81, 83—indeed these three Canons imply that the Empire had been Christian for some time.

A still closer agreement is to be noted between these Canons and the decrees of the Arian Council of Antioch.

Can. of Antioch.			Apost. Can.	Can. of Antioch.			Apost. Can.	Agreement with Antiochene decrees.
1	.	.	. 7	13	.	.	. 35	
2	.	.	. 8–13	17, 18	.	.	. 36	
3	.	.	. 15, 16	20	.	.	. 37	
4	.	.	. 28	21	.	.	. 14	
5	.	.	. 31	22	.	.	. 35	
6	.	.	. 32	24	.	.	. 40	
7, 8	.	.	. 12, 33	25	.	.	. 41	
9	.	.	. 34					

It is possible that the Apostolical Canons are an orthodox version of those decrees : in which case the Council of Antioch itself is the redactor to whom Harnack refers, the final editor being the orthodox reviser. Only Canons 1–41 satisfy this Antiochene origin, whilst several of the Nicene

references accord with the later Canons. Evidently the orthodox editor wished his revision to satisfy the Nicene quotations. In any case the Syrian locus of these Canons is clear from the citation of the Syrian month Hyperberetaeus in Canon 38. .

XXI. PRESENT FORM OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Having considered the various texts from which the Constitutions are compiled, it will be necessary to review the nature, date and locality of the final redaction.

Title. The present Greek text bears the heading Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου τε καὶ πολίτου. Καθολικὴ διδασκαλία.[22] The πολίτου appears strange and has long been regarded with suspicion. The probable suggestion is that it is a corruption of Ἱππολύτου, whose " Constitutions," it will be remembered, form the basis of the larger portion of the eighth book.

It will be noted that two titles are employed,

διαταγαὶ and διδασκαλία. The latter of these is not found elsewhere in ecclesiastical Greek, but occurs as ܟܠܢܘܬܐ, the title of the Syriac Didascalia. The term διαταγαὶ is first cited by Photius (Bib. Can. 112), and seems to be used by him to designate our present text.

There are also several other terms, διάταξις (εἰς), διδαχή (-αι) and διατάγματα, whose significance is less clear. Διάταξις is the name of the work from which Epiphanius quotes (Haer. xlv. 5 ; lxx. 10, 11, 12 ; lxxv. 6 (twice); lxxx. 7), and these quotations are satisfied by the shorter (Syriac) text of the Didascalia. The plural διατάξεις occurs in the fragment of Irenaeus which Pfaff numbers 2, and is there cited as quoting Malachi i. 11. This is satisfied by either the Apostolical Constitutions (Ap. Con. vii. 30) or the Didache (xiv.).

Διδαχή is found in Athanasius (Epist. Fer. 39, Syn. Script. S. n. 76), Nicephorus (Chron. *in fine*), and the second canon of the Trullan Council. Nicephorus informs us that the length of this treatise was 200 stichoi, about the same estimate as that given for the book of Canticles. This exactly suits the Didache. The plural διδαχαί is cited by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25); and classed by him with the Epistle of Barnabas, which again agrees with the extant Didache.

E

The remaining word διατάγματα is found in Maximus (Prolog ad Op. Dion. Mag.), who, writing about A.D. 662, says, καθίστατα κατὰ τὸ φερόμενον ἐν βιβλίῳ ἑβδόμῳ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διαταγμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ χριστοφόρου τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις πιστευσάντων,[23] a reference actually justified by Apostolical Constitutions vii. 46—so that διατάγματα evidently designated our present text of the Constitutions.

As far back as the seventeenth century, Bishop Ussher drew attention to the close parallelism between the Epistles of Ignatius in their longer form and the Greek text of the Apostolical Constitutions. Although the questions which surround the Ignatian writings present difficulties second only to those which encircle the Constitutions, these questions are mainly concerned with the shorter Greek text discovered by Vossius and the still briefer Syriac text of Cureton. Whatever be the date and mutual relationship of these, it is beyond question that the longer Greek text is a later one extended by interpolations and by the addition of spurious epistles. It is this longer form that abounds in close parallels with the Apostolical Constitutions.

Apost. Cons. ii. 1 and Pseud. Ignatius (*i.e.* the longer interpolated text) *ad Mariam* 3 state that

Relation to Pseudo-Ignatius.

Solomon was twelve years old when he began to reign, a statement entirely without scriptural authority; that our Lord was condemned at the third hour and crucified at the sixth,—an attempt to reconcile the synoptic Gospels with that of S. John, —is found alike in Ap. Con. v. 14 and Pseud. Ign. *ad Trall.* 9. The blunder of Abeddadan (Obededom) for Sheba (II Sam. vi. 10 and xx. 1) occurs in Ap. Con. vi. 1 and Pseud. Ign. *ad Mag.* 3. The quotation of Genesis xlix. 10 as εἰδότες ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν ᾧ ἀπέκειτο [24] (LXX reads ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῳ) is common to Ap. Con. vi. 11 and 23, and Pseud. Ign. *ad Philad.* 9. The same loose citations of Isaiah lxii. 11 and Prov. xxiv. 21 occur in Ap. Con. 11. 14 and Pseud. Ign. *ad Smyr.* 9. The same series of quotations Isaiah i. 19 ; Gen. ix. 3 ; Eccles. ii. 25 ; and Zech. ix. 17, are found in Ap. Con. vii. 20 and Pseud. Ign. *ad Heron.* 1. Both works enumerate Confessors as permanent Church dignitaries (Ap. Con. viii. 47 ; Pseud. Ign. *ad Antioch* 12), and commit the duty of door-keeping to the deaconesses (Ap. Con. viii. 28 ; Pseud. Ign. *ad Antioch.* 12). In one passage (*ad Trall.* 7) Pseudo-Ignatius quotes Ap. Cons. ii. 20 : αἰδεῖσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν ὡς Χριστόν, καθὰ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διετάξαντο ἀπόστολοι.[25]

There are also a series of parallel passages. The chief are :—

Ap. Con.	Pseud. Ignatius.		Ap. Con.	Pseud. Ignatius.
ii. 1	Mar. 2		v. 19	Magn. 11
viii. 12	Trall. 5		vi. 2	Smyrn. 9
ii. 6	Ephes. 12		vi. 5	Philad. 2
ii. 36	Magn. 9		vi. 1, 2	Mag. 3
iii. 1, 7	Phil. 4		vii. 36	Magn. 11
v. 13	Philad. 13		viii. 12	Trall. 10, 11.

The closeness of many of these similarities led Ussher to the opinion that the interpolator of Ignatius and the editor of the present text of the Apostolical Constitutions were identical (*Ignat. et Polycarp*, Epist. pp. lxiii. *sqq.*), and in this he has been followed by Lagarde (*Reliq. Juris Antiq. Graec.* p. vii.), Harnack (*Textes u. U.* ii. 1, p. 241), and Brightman (*Eastern Liturgies*, p. xxvii.). It is certain, however, from the citation of Pseud. *ad Trall.* (*supra*) that the Constitutions are the earlier work.

If the Constitutions, Canons and Pseudo Ignatius are edited by the same hand, the present text cannot be earlier than the close of the fourth century, since the two latter works assume that the Empire is Christian. (Pseud. Ign. *ad Philad.* 4. Canons 30, 81, 83.) As neither make any reference to the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies, they are not

to be placed later than the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Syrian locus of the Constitutions is evident *Locus of origin.* from the citation of the Syrian monks Xanthicus (Ap. Con. v. 14. . . . μηνὶ πρώτῳ, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός.) [26] Dystros (Ap. Con. v. 17 . . . τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς, ὅς ἐστι Δύστρος) [27] and Gorpiaeus (Ap. Con. v. 20 . . . δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς Γορπιαίου). [28] This fully accords with the locus of the Canons.

In Ap. Con. v. 13 reference is made to the feast of Christmas (τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσετε, ἀδελφοί· καὶ πρώτην γε τὴν γενέθλιον, ἥτις ὑμῖν ἐπιτελείσθω εἰκάδι πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐνάτου μηνός). [29] This *Date.* festival was unknown to Epiphanius writing about A.D. 375, and seems to have been introduced about three years later. Epiphanius was also unaware of the longer text of the Constitutions, and quoted from the earlier Didascalia. This gives A.D. 378 as the earliest possible date of the Constitutions, whilst A.D. 425 seems its latest.

The editor has often been accused of Arianism, but the supposed Arian phrases have been shown by Funk (*Die Apostol. Kons.*) to have parallels in undoubtedly orthodox works. According to Bishop *Supposed Arianism.* Lightfoot, the editor leans on the side of Arianism, though "without definitely crossing the border." (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 258.)

If the Constitutions and the Canons be actually edited by the same hand, it is not impossible that the editor was an Arian returning to orthodoxy, or orthodox but wishing to compromise with the Arians, yet so far involved with the Arian party that the more strictly orthodox looked dubiously on his work.

Other collections. Of the other collections, the Syrian Octateuch and the Coptic Heptateuch are probably later than the Apostolical Constitutions. The Arabic Didascalia and the Verona fragments (Hauler's text) possibly represent earlier compilations.

The table at the end of the next section shows the comparative composition of these collections.

XXII. DR. KÖHLER'S THEORY

A final word must be given to Dr. Köhler's two articles "Didascalia" and "Didache" in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (vol. iv. 1903), in which he endeavours to prove that the Apostolical Constitutions are an ancient Jewish work interpolated, the Syriac Didascalia and Didache being abridgments. Dr. Köhler wrote before Mrs. Gibson's edition of the Syriac was published, and he does not appear to know Lagarde's edition. The whole argument rests upon a comparison between Book vii. of the Constitutions and the Didache; and, as the prayers of the former bear a certain resemblance to those now used in the synagogue, he concludes that the Constitutions must be the older and original work.

Theory that Ap. Cons. are the original from which Didascalia and Didache are abridged

The chief resemblances noted by Dr. Köhler are—

Judaism of editor of Ap. Cons.

Ap. Con. vii. 26 and Jewish grace after meals.
   „   „   „ 33 „ First of the seven Berachoth.
   „   „   „ 34, 35 „ Second „ „   „   „   „
   „   „   „ 36 „ Sabbath Prayers.
   „   „   „ 37, 37 „ Last three Berachoth.

In chapters xxxiv., xxxv., xxxvii., xxxviii. this may
be easily explained by the common use of the Old
Testament : in the other cases the resemblances
are close enough to be striking, *e. g.* in Ap. Con.
vii. 36—

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Ap. Con.

Σὺ γὰρ, Κύριε, καὶ τοὺς
πάτερας ἡμῶν ἐξήγαγες
ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ
ἐρρύσω ἐκ καμίνου
σιδηρᾶς καὶ ἐκ πηλοῦ
καὶ πλινθουργίας . . .[30]

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סדר ברכת המזון

נודה לך יי אלהינו על
שהנחלת לאבותינו ארץ
חמדה טובה ורחבה ועל
שהוצאתנו יי אלהינו מארץ
מצרים ופדיתנו מבית
עבדים"

</div>
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The oldest Jewish liturgical matter is contained
in the Mishnah (especially tracts *Berachoth* and
Pesachim), and this shows many resemblances
with the earlier Christian liturgies, particularly
with the Syrian rite. (Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*.)
The older Christian and Jewish liturgical formulae
have so many similarities that it is not possible to
doubt a common origin in the pre-Talmudic Jewish
liturgy, the ritual of the Holy Eucharist being
evolved from that of the Passover, the daily ser-
vices from the Synagogue use of the Psalmody.
That similarities with the Jewish liturgy occur in

the interpolated passages in the Apostolic Con-
stitutions is, however, adequately explained by the
hypothesis that the Syrian editor drew much of
his additional matter from the liturgy with which
he was familiar. To suppose, with Dr. Köhler,
that the whole Apostolical Constitutions are de-
rived directly from a Jewish work and were the
parent of the cognate treatises, is in violation of
all the evidence already deduced to show that the
Constitutions are a later production than either
Didache, Didascalia or Epitome.

Now this editor was a Syrian, probably of
Antioch (?). About that very time, or soon after,
S Chrysostom delivered his orations to the people
of Antioch, and makes their Judaism a chief point
of attack. These orations of S. Chrysostom against
the philo-Jewish Christians of Antioch give us
the best picture of the type of man who edited
the Constitutions, a type hardly to be found
outside the Syrian Church.

A close similarity between the Jewish Paschal
rite and the Syrian liturgy of S. James is traced
by Cabrol and Leclerq (*Reliq. Liturg. Antiquissi-
mae*, Paris, 1902, pp. xxvi.–xxvii.).

ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF THE

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS AND KINDRED COLLECTIONS

Apost. Cons.	Documents used by the Editor.	Cognate Documents.	Parallel portions in other Collections.			
			Syrian Octateuch Books.	Coptic Heptateuch Books.	Arabic Didascalia Sects.	Hauler's Latin Text.
i.–vi.	Didascalia	... ...	...	...	1–34	i.–lxiv.
vii. 1–24	Didache {	... ...	...	...	...	...
...	{	Epitome	iii.	i., ii.	...	lxv.–lxvii. 30
25–49	*	... ...	...	...	...	...
viii. 1–2	περὶ χαρισμάτων	... ...	iv.	iii.	...	...
3	*	... ...	...	...	..	...
...	... ...	{ Canons of { Hippolytus { Testament { of our Lord	i., ii.	...	35–39	lxvii. 31–lxxx.
4, 28–56	Constit. of Hippolytus	... ...	v., vi., vii.	iv., v., vi.	...	...
5–27	Liturgy	... ...	...	...	...	...
57	The Canons	... ...	viii.	vii.	...	...

* Probably Editor's own composition.

APPENDIX

p. 15, note [1].   For the Apostles lay down in that διάταξις that ye reckon not, but observe it when your brethren from the circumcision do.   Do so together with them : and they did not say "when your brethren in the circumcision. . . ."

p. 17, note [2].   Then either thou, O bishop, or a presbyter under thee, speaking over them and calling upon the holy invocation of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, shalt baptize them in the water.

p. 26, note [3].   The beginning of the name of Jesus is Iota.

p. 34, note [4].   But concerning this also it is said : Let thy alms sweat into thy own hands, until thou hast learned to whom to give.

ibid. note [5].   If thou hast of the work of thy hands, give, that thou mayest labour for the redemption of thy sins.

ibid. note [6].   My child, day and night shalt thou remember him that speaketh to thee the word of God : thou shalt honour him as the Lord.

ibid. note [7].   Thou shalt honour him that speaketh to thee the word of God, and remember him day and night, thou shalt honour Him, not as the author of thy being, but as the one that is made the means of thy well-being.

ibid. note [8].   Doing for an earthly mystery of the Church.

p. 36, note [9].   It is well to be unmarried.

ibid. note [10].   Removed in some way from intercourse with women.

p. 40, note [11].   Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication.

ibid. note [12].   Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys.

p. 41, note [13].   Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, for others thou shalt pray, and others thou shalt love more than thy life.

ibid. note [14].   Night and day thou shalt remember him that speaketh to thee the word of God.

ibid. note [15].   Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord. Night and day thou shalt remember the day of judgment.

p. 45, note [16].   All that thou wouldest not happen to thee, thou shalt not do to another.

ibid. note [17].   Thou shalt not avenge and thou shalt not slander the sons of thy people, and thou shalt be kind to thy neighbour as to thyself.

p. 46, note [18].   To offer to me a pure sacrifice in every place and time.

ibid. note [19].   In every place.

ibid. note [20].   At every time.

p. 48, note [21].   Constitutions of the Holy Apostles concerning Ordinations, through Hippolytus.

p. 64, note [22].   Ordinances of the Holy Apostles through Clement, the Bishop and Citizen of Rome. The Catholic Didascalia.

p. 66, note [23].   According to the tradition in the seventh book of the Ordinances of the Apostles, Dionysius was appointed by Paul the Christ—bearer to be bishop of the faithful at Athens.

p. 67, note 24.   Knowing that he is come to whom was reserved the inheritance. . . .

ibid. note [25].   And reverence your bishop as Christ, as the Blessed Apostles directed you.

p. 69, note [26].   In the first month which is Xanthicus.

ibid. note [27].   In the twelfth month which is Dystros.

p. 69, note [28].   On the tenth of the month Gorpiaeus.

ibid. note [29].   Brethren, observe the days of the feasts : and first the Birth-day which you are to keep on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month.

p. 72, note [30].   For thou, O Lord, didst bring our fathers out of the land of Egypt and didst rescue them out of the iron furnace, and from the clay and brick-making. *Order of Blessing after food.*—We thank Thee, O Lord our God, because Thou didst give to our Fathers an heritage, a desirable, good and ample land : and because Thou didst bring us out, O Lord our God, from the land of Egypt and didst deliver us from the house of bondage.

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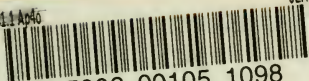SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
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